Key U.S. figures seek Dulles policy changes: Less agony, more give

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By Kumar Goshal

THE NEWS THAT even under the most favorable circumstances Secy. Dulles will have to convalesce for two or three months, came at a time when the issue of Germany had reached a crucial stage.

Dulles had made foreign policy his exclusive preserve, making his own decisions, consulting the President and the Congress only as a formality or when forced to do so.

In a letter to the President asking for a leave of absence for medical treatment, Dulles said he would "turn over" most of his duties to his assistants but would himself be working on policy on Germany. As one State Dept. aide said: "He's not going to fuss with the future of Cuba or Japan's trouble with Korea. He's saving himself for Germany."

STILL IN CONTROL: It seemed that, despite considerable speculation about the future of U.S. foreign policy and who will guide it, Dulles' letter to the President and President Eisenhower's utter dependence on him indicated that Dulles was not yet relinquishing his control of foreign affairs.

This has relieved such U.S. allies as Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer who, the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston said, "has acquired such trust in the Secy. of State that his alliance sometimes seems to be with Mr. Dulles rather than with the U.S." But this has dismayed others who long not merely for flexibility but for a

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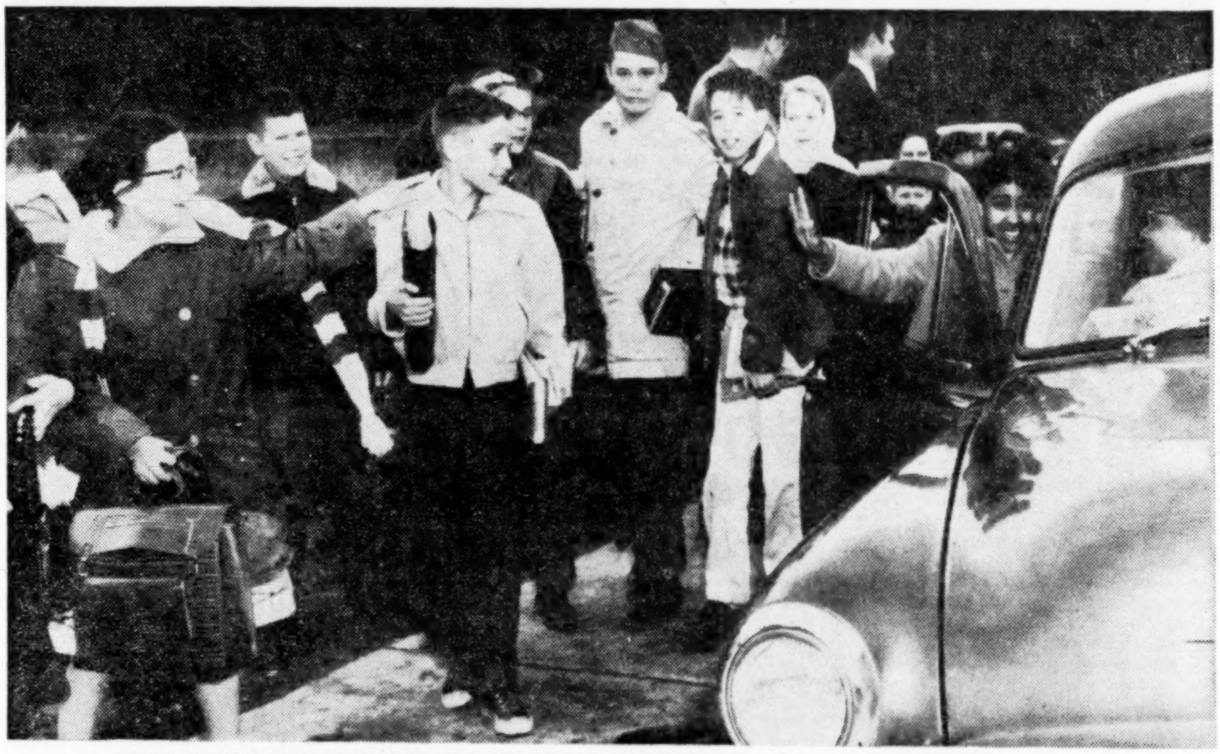

IT WAS THE DAY BEFORE THE EMANCIPATOR'S BIRTHDAY IN ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

Kathryn Turner, 11 (getting into car), one of five Negro children who were admitted to William Ramsay elementary school, waved goodbye to some of her white classmates—and the heavens did not fall. What was it some one once said about leaving the job to the kids?

GOVERNMENT EXPECTED TO ACT BY FEB. 25

Powell-Schuman 'treason' indictment stalled

AN UNEXPLAINED STALL in government tactics in the Powell-Schuman Case resulted in arraignment of the three defendants Feb. 12 on informal charges of treason, although no indictments have been returned against them.

The treason charges were filed Jan. 31 when prosecution on three-year-old sedition indictments ended in a mistrial. At that time the government announced that it intended to obtain Federal grand jury indictments on Feb. 11, and unsuccessfully demanded that the three —**China Monthly Review** publisher John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia and former assistant Julian Schuman—be held without bail on the new charges.

At the hearing Feb. 12 the Government announced that it was beginning preliminary briefing of the grand jury preparatory to seeking treason indictments and expected indictments might be returned by Feb. 25. A further hearing was scheduled for March 2.

TESTIMONY LEAKED: Meanwhile U.S. Attorney James B. Schnake called an unidentified FBI agent as a first grand jury witness, and although grand jury testimony is supposed to be secret, the San Francisco **Examiner** learned that "the agent was believed to have supplied the jury with background information which led to the trio being indicted in 1956 for allegedly printing seditious material in their magazine during the Korean War."

The Powell-Schuman Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco, urged letters to Atty. Gen. William Rogers, Justice Dept., Washington, D.C., urging him to order the prosecution ended and all charges dismissed.

SOME QUESTIONS: The Committee saw the case now looming as "one of the great cases of American jurisprudence" in which final disposition will hinge on

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WORLD-WIDE PROTEST FORCES GOVERNOR TO ACT

Two boys in N. Carolina 'kissing case' released

FOUR MONTHS AFTER they had been taken from their Monroe, N.C., homes and committed to the Morrison Training School for Delinquent Boys at Hoffman, James Hanover Thompson and David (Fuzzy) Simpson were returned to their mothers on Feb. 13.

In the interim their families had moved to Charlotte, N.C., 25 miles from the squalor and terror which surrounded them in Monroe. And the case of the boys, who had been charged with "assault on females"—because a seven-year-old white girl had kissed Hanover while the children played in a culvert—had become an international scandal.

HOLLAND AROUSED: A deluge of letters, cables and petitions had poured into U.S. embassies, the White House and Gov. Hodges' office from a score of countries in Europe, Latin America and Asia.

Prominent among the protests were thousands which came from Holland. On Jan. 21 a 13-year-old schoolgirl of Utrecht presented U.S. diplomatic officials with a petition bearing 520 signatures of her schoolmates. Following this a delegation from eight secondary schools presented a petition with 1,000 names. Among adults a campaign called "Operation Snowball" and headed by Catholic leader S.F.A. Saris of Rotterdam, roused thousands to action.

The NAACP announced that a few days before the boys' release Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had received a petition signed by 390 pupils and 17 teachers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt School in Rotterdam. Attorneys for the NAACP had entered the case at the request of Robert F. Williams, Union County, N.C., president of the local organization.

The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice undertook to arouse public sentiment for freeing the boys. The Committee hailed the release as a victory for justice but pledged to continue its activity until the release has been made unconditional and the charge has been expunged from the boys' records.

"As it now stands," the Committee said, "the boys are in a situation comparable to a prisoner released on parole—but they have committeed no crime and there is no reason why they should be on parole, probation or in the conditional custody of their mothers."

In announcing the release, Commissioner of Correction Blaine M. Madison said that if the boys did not receive what the state considered proper care and guidance from their mothers "the local welfare department will recommend that appropriate action be taken."

The CCRI contended this was just another way of saying the state reserves the right to send the boys to reform school for the slightest juvenile misdemeanor or for no cause at all, as a means of "proving" that its brutal treatment was justified in the first place.

THE MAIL BAG

The Lee Case & Sobell

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The Supreme Court has returned a verdict which can help Morton Sobell win his new appeal in the courts. Successfully pursued, this would mean a new trial for Sobell, or a mandatory reduction in sentence making him presently eligible for parole.

The decision w.s rendered in the case of ex-GI Lee, when the court held for the defendant that the U.S. was not at war in 1947. The army had argued that technically we were at war until 1952 when we signed the peace treaty with Japan.

Now look at Sobell's case: Judge Kaufman gave Sobell a 30-year wartime sentence. But the first act alleged against Sobell took place in 1946, and the maximum peacetime sentence permitted by law is 20 years. The 30-year sentence was "justified" by the indictment against the Rosenbergs, Gold, Yakovlev, the Greenglasses and Sobell, alleging conspiracy from June 1944 to June 1950.

The Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, N.Y.C., needs funds desperately to fight this case through the courts. These funds will return rich dividends by a most meaningful restoration of civil liberties and intellectual integrity.

Aaron Katz

Letter writer

SEASIDE, CALIF.

The attack on peaceful pickets at California's rocket base at Lompoc, described in the Jan. 19 issue of your paper, has me writing to California's Senator Kuchel and Engle about it. It was a horrible thing, and I have read the account of it to other groups of women, urging them to write to our Congressmen.

If only postage would not go up any more, as I have to keep writing, writing to Congressmen, Governors and all you suggest!

Grace G. Hazelrigg

Wellman victory

DETROIT, MICH.

I am informed that the Veterans Administration after meeting reverses in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia as well as the District Court, finally dropped its determination to withdraw my disability pension. I hope shortly to receive formal notification of this decision and back payments to June of 1954.

The case was under the complete jurisdiction of the American Civil Liberties Union. Their help was literally invaluable for the victory.

I feel certain that the forthright position taken by your publication and the response of many of your readers is largely responsible for the success of the principle involved — that our country must fulfill its just obligations to its veterans regardless of their politics.

This victory should spur efforts to win back veterans disability benefits for Robert Thompson and others who were also arbitrarily denied them. It should also be a spur to all who seek, once and for all, the complete nullification of the Smith Act and the release of its two remaining imprisoned victims, Gil Green and Henry Winston.

My family and I are extremely grateful for your help.

Saul L. Wellman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The Soviet bluster and warnings over Berlin will probably continue, but don't overlook this fact: **Latest threats** include clear invitations to the West to sit down around the table and talk things over.

—U.S. News and World Report, 1/9

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Florida.

Jobmaker

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thanks to our GUARDIAN I have regained a personal honor and dignity I thought had been lost forever.

My job as a salesman—i.e. parasite—has always filled me with a secret loathing for myself as being an unnecessary, unproductive member of society, having less ability to rationalize this contradiction than most of my friends.

But since reading the quote in the "Gallery" from Al Seares, head of the Natl. Sales Executives, I find I have really been a "jobmaker extraordinary" for all these years and didn't even know it. Now my chest is just bursting with pride. From now on I am to be known as a Jobmaker, and on the rare lucrative weeks, Jobmaker Extraordinaire.

Thus our GUARDIAN has succeeded in saving the souls of all progressive salesmen where analysts and therapists have previously failed.

Peter Porcupine

Hidden truth

CIRCLE, MONT.

In Freedom's name all things are
done—a magic name indeed;
We make two worlds of only one,
and hide Man's greatest need.

Hobart McKean

Marines in Haiti

BETHAYRES, PA.

Have just returned from a visit to Haiti and wish to urge our readers to petition their Congressmen and in particular the State Department against the military mission of U.S. Marines being sent into Haiti.

This mission of about 60 men, which is the advance guard of a bigger troop concentration to follow, was the result of a "gentlemen's agreement" between our State Department and the Duvalier dictatorship in December, 1958.

All civil rights have been violated in Haiti and mass terror prevails. The sending of U.S. occupation troops will greatly strengthen the police power of Duvalier and also greatly increase the ill-will against the U.S. in all democratic countries of Latin America.

The liberation of Cuba from dictatorship can be extended to Haiti.

We can help.

Max Berg

Franklin Baxter

GARDENA, CALIF.

I regret to inform you of the death of our good friend and subscriber, Franklin Baxter of Upland, Calif.

He was a very sincere supporter of the GUARDIAN and a onetime subscriber to the **Appeal to Reason.**

Wm. E. Osborne

London Evening Standard

"I was half done before I realized it's Sunday."

Mikoyan's visit

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Regarding Mikoyan's tour: in Los Angeles the cops took away slingshots, eggs and knives from our local Hungarian "freedom fighters" and even Chief Parker publicly castigated them. Our Governor Brown gave smiling salesman Mick a warm welcome despite his being a good Catholic. Ditto the movie moguls and actors.

The next time we get a distinguished visitor from the Soviet Union there ought to be mass demonstrations of welcome to overcome the nastiness of Walter- and Nixon-sponsored immigrants here on probation.

I.B.

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

When Nixon was stoned you cheered [we didn't, Ed.] When Mikoyan was egged you became indignant. [So we did. Ed.] Such is the logic of Russian patriotism.

Need we wonder why Americans cannot muster enough trust for radicals even to listen to what they have to say?

Since you "bawled" to Khrushchev for making socialism more difficult to sell here in the "backward" area of the world by his execution of Nagy and colleagues, perhaps you will understand the embarrassment that other "backward" radicals feel when you insult the intelligence of your readers and prospective readers.

Robert MacDonald

Bill Thamel

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Vassil (Bill) Thamel, former UE and IAM organizer, died Feb. 10 from cancer.

Bill spent his entire young life working for his dreams of a better life for America. Memorials to his untiring efforts stretch from his home in Worcester, Mass., to Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Indiana. They are in the shape of strong unions, better working and living conditions for thousands and thousands of workers. This was his life, the very meaning of it.

Bill fought hard to make today a better one, yet he knew that only socialism would answer all the problems.

Bill has left two young children and a wife. All of his friends reach out to them in the deepest sympathy. How little we can afford to lose people like Bill.

Alfred Marder

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST WEEK HENRY A. WALLACE offered a Progressive Party budget that would cut military expenditures cleanly by half and allot $27,000,000,000 for "better living for all Americans." The Budget for Abundance would make many shifts. It would shift U.S. spending from war to peace. It would shift Marshall Plan funds from cold war politics to UN reconstruction. It would shift major tax burdens from low-income individuals to high-income corporations. It would be a shift of emphasis from profits to people. The Budget is offered as "a practical alternative . . . designed to meet the urgent needs of America now, to end the fear of depression and war and make America secure and prosperous."

—National Guardian, February 21, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

New York squeeze

FOR A PRIME EXAMPLE of political machine collaboration to squeeze the consumer and protect the corporations, we urge attention to what is going on in New York State and City, where is situated the greatest concentration of wealth in the nation.

For the State, Republican Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller has proposed the first $2 billion budget in New York's history—a rise of $277,000,000, to raise which he has proposed a new tax program. Basically, Rockefeller proposes to lower the individual income tax exemptions from $1,000 to $600 and to apply these to families to substitute for the current (1958) exemptions of $2,500 for couples plus $400 each for dependent children. To make sure of collecting, a withholding system on payrolls is part of the plan, as are additional tax levies of 1c on cigarettes and gasoline.

For the City, Democratic Mayor Robert F. Wagner is seeking an increase in sales taxes to 4% and legalization of off-track betting on horse races.

NO SIGNIFICANT SECTOR of the people of New York City and State approves of either the Rockefeller or the Wagner tax proposals, yet the chances are excellent that both will be approved virtually intact. How? Mayor Wagner, the leading Democrat in office in the state, has called off his party's opposition in return for Republican approval of his program for the City.

Even if morally defensible, Mayor Wagner's hope of making a killing via legal betting parlors is a mirage. Horse players will continue to seek out the bookies giving the best odds (which city-run betting parlors cannot do) and Mayor Wagner's top cops will continue to protect the bookies by shakedown (as one of them was arrested for doing only this month.)

SALES TAXES and lowered income tax exemptions, aimed at the family pocketbook, are the alternative to placing the tax responsibility of city and state on the business which profits most from operation in the state. New York City could fare exceedingly well by re-assessing the city's big skyscraper real estate and exacting a commensurate tax on Wall Street gambling, but prefers to make tax collectors of the city's storekeepers and taxpayers of the city's eight million consumers.

Of the city and state tax proposals, the United Independent-Socialist Committee, which ran New York's 1958 Independent-Socialist state electoral campaign, has noted that "it takes considerable ingenuity to devise nearly 20 new taxes without stumbling across one that would hit corporations and businesses."

The UI-SC has proposed higher rather than lower income tax exemptions, sufficient to eliminate income taxes on families of four with incomes of $5,000 or under. As for withholdings, the UI-SC proposes the plan be extended to recipients of interest and dividends. As for the 1958 tax forgiveness which Rockefeller proposes to ease his withholding plan through, the UI-SC suggests forgiveness for only the first $380 of 1958 tax, leaving those with incomes of $15,000 and over to pay the remainder over $380 in instalments over five years.

The UI-SC points out that Rockefeller's income tax proposals would increase taxes on individuals from 70% to 290% as against 1943 levels, while corporation taxes have increased only 22¼% in the same period. A top increase of 50% in corporation taxes would produce $126,000,000 in additional state revenue, the UI-SC estimates, and a 6% tax on unincorporated business would raise $15,000,000 more.

Further, the UI-SC suggests extending the top brackets on state income taxes from 7% to 15%, and eliminating the distinction between capital gains and personal income. Capital gains are taxed at half rates. "There is no reason," the UI-SC states, "why speculators who perform no useful function should be favored tax-wise."

BUT FOR REAL and lasting tax relief, the UI-SC calls on the N.Y. state legislature to memorialize Congress to divert funds now going for military expenditures "from the job of helping to kill people to the more constructive job of helping them to live comfortably."

We endorse that, and we endorse also for New Yorkers the proposals of New York City's Teachers Union for equitable distribution of the tax burden and "massive assistance to education" throughout the state. In a later issue, we hope to detail the Teachers Union's specific proposals, many of which are set forth in pending legislation which warrants public support.

—THE GUARDIAN

A PORTRAIT OF SENATE MAJORITY LEADER JOHNSON

What makes Lyndon run--and will he get there?

By Louis E. Burnham

NOW AT THE HEIGHT of his power in the U.S. Senate, Lyndon Baines Johnson cuts as big a swathe on the political scene as his native Texas occupies on the map. He enjoys more prestige and wields more authority than any Majority Leader in recent history. One commentator has called him the second most powerful man in the country.

This designation, out of deference to the President, probably disguises reality. The liberal weekly **Texas Observer** points out that taking leadership from the fumbling hands of the Eisenhower Administration is a mere job of petty larceny. Another columnist considers Johnson the **de facto ruler** of the U.S.A.

When the Senator was a little boy, he tells us, his daddy used to wake him up at dawn and say, "Lyndon, every boy in town's got an hour's start on you." The town was Johnson City (current population 648), a little complex of modest dwellings built a century ago on what was then frontier land of the Texas prairie. The founder, Samuel Ealy Johnson the First, was Lyndon's grandfather.

ON THE MARCH: Since boyhood, Lyndon's aim has been to catch up with the other boys; today at 50, he has overtaken not only his Johnson City playmates, but most of his contemporaries throughout the land.

He was 28 years old when he won a contest over nine rivals to fill a vacancy in the House in 1937. Already he had served an apprenticeship as a Congressional secretary and as Texas director of the National Youth Administration. Likeable, aggressive, resourceful, he had attracted the attention of President Roosevelt; he entered Congress as an all-out supporter of the New Deal.

In those days Johnson fought and voted on the liberal side of many economic issues which divided the nation. He secured Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives for his district, bringing the benefits of low-priced electricity to poor farmers and ranchers. To do so he pitted himself against powerful utility interests led by the Texas Power and Light Co.

While opposition to the monopolies is a political rarity today, it did not require uncommon courage in the Thirties. The liberal side then was the winning side, and no one has ever demeaned Lyndon Johnson's skill at picking a winner.

What attracted Johnson to Roosevelt, however, was not so much FDR's policies as his method. He was fascinated by the President's ability to keep the always disparate, sometimes warring, factions of the Democratic donkey team tethered to the same yoke. He saw in Roosevelt, the overpowering conversationalist, one of the few politicians more loquacious than himself.

SEN. JOHNSON (r.) WITH AN OLD BUDDY WHO'S LEFT THE CLUB
But he and Bill Knowland had a lot of fun while it lasted

Herblock in Washington Post
"Anybody Want to Argue About Other Rules?"

Gradually, as the national climate changed, it became clear that while Lyndon Johnson might not be constant in his commitment to progressive programs, he had an ample reservoir of skill and energy to foster whatever measures he favored. In 1946 he told a friend he was tired of not voting his convictions and then voted against an appropriation for the Un-American Activities Committee.

Never again, however, did he succumb to his better judgment on the Committee; and a year later he was going along with the majority in voting for the Taft-Hartley law and for over-riding President Truman's veto.

THE NO. 1 BOY: In 1948 Johnson graduated to the Senate on the strength of a 98-vote margin over Gov. Coke Stevenson. By 1956 he had vaulted to the head of the class and became the youngest floor leader in Senate history.

From that vantage point his power in government has multiplied at a brisk clip. He is chairman of the Democratic Policy Committee, Steering Committee and Party Conference. His supporters dominate the party Campaign Committee and secretariat. In recognition of his increasing intervention in foreign affairs, he heads the Senate Preparedness subcommittee and the Senate Space Committee. All these posts afford him the biggest staff in the Senate's history and an unprecedented $382,000 annually to push his program.

In Johnson's program there's a little something for everybody, but not much of anything for the folks who need help most. As he put it: "I have no patronage and no power. I just have the power of fairness and reason. I want to keep this party together because I think it is the better party. I can only do that by giving everyone a fair shake of the dice."

ON CIVIL RIGHTS: That the dice are already loaded against civil rights (filibuster), labor (Taft-Hartley), and social legislation (the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition) does not seem to disturb Johnson's sense of fair play. As Congress opened he virtually alone saved the segregationists' filibuster privilege by engineering a change in cloture rules which is hardly a change at all.

But the Majority Leader certainly hopes to avoid a filibuster, not by making one impossible, but by placing before the Senate a civil rights bill so weak that Southerners will not need to obstruct it. To help guarantee this result, he introduced his own bill early in the session.

Though the Johnson civil rights bill is inadequate, it dramatizes the continuing disintegration of the misnamed "solid South." Johnson, himself, did not sign the 1956 Southern manifesto against desegregation. In Texas he has advocated abolition of the poll tax and nationally he has spoken for a Congressional amendment to achieve the same end. The likelihood is that his civil rights bill, or one like it, will attract the votes of the two Senators from Tennessee, one from Florida and his colleague in Texas.

THE OLD PROS: The Johnson leadership, then, represents the triumph of "moderation" in national politics. And his formula for bringing it off is to weld a new kind of coalition. He would unite Southern moderates and Western liberals to force minor allowances from the Dixiecrats on the one hand and major concessions from the more advanced Northern liberals on the other.

In this venture Johnson has surrounded himself with ex-Roosevelt aides. Mrs. Grace Tully, who was FDR's private secretary, serves as his executive assistant. Former brain-trusters Tommy Corcoran and Benjamin V. Cohen feed him with a constant stream of ideas. For foreign policy advice he turns to the originator of the "positions of strength" doctrine, former Secy. of State Dean Acheson.

On foreign policy Johnson seems to have two main convictions. The first is that Administration policy is inept; the second is the popular misconception that the Democrats can seek peace by spending more than the Republicans for war.

AFTER SPUTNIK: In June, 1957, he spoke to the United Jewish Appeal about the horrible devastation foreshadowed by ballistic missiles. "With such weapons in a divided world," he said, "there will be little choice. We will return to the caves of our remote ancestors and burrow underground like the prairie dogs of West Texas."

But soon thereafter, with the spur of the Sputniks alarming our miltarists, Johnson began to deliver an unending series of preparedness pep talks. The bases of the Strategic Air Command were "not dispersed sufficiently," he said in January, 1958. And "we do not give our military programs sufficient priority or sufficient money." He felt then that limited "brush fire" wars were not outdated; on defense his theme would be "non-partisanship and responsibility."

A LOSS OF FAITH: In Texas Johnson has received the overwhelming support of the state's working people and minorities. The Negro, Mexican and labor vote, as well as the sizeable middle-class liberal electorate, enabled him to trounce reactionary Gov. Alan Shivers in the 1956 campaign for leadership of the state's 56-vote delegation to the Democratic national convention.

But there have been recent signs that Texas liberals are losing their faith in the Leader. In state politics, which in Texas revolves not so much around race as around economics, Johnson has been found increasingly on the side of the oil, sulphur, chemical and banking interests which dominate the state's industrial life.

A LOOK TO 1960: The likelihood is that the leadership fight in 1960 will be between Johnson and liberal Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough. For Lyndon Johnson it will be an important battle. Some observers believe he means to go on from there to win the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. Johnson himself disclaims any such aim. He told a San Antonio audience last December: "I don't think anybody will be nominated from the South in my lifetime. If so, I don't think he'll be elected."

Yet, despite a massive heart attack which felled him in 1956, the Majority Leader acts and talks like a man of destiny. If he and the nation should eventually decide that the cowpath that began at Johnson City should wind up at the White House, it will be because Lyndon Johnson has made it a middle road on which to dazzle the assembled citizens with feats of unprecedented political showmanship.

Herblock in Washington Post
"You've go to stop being so inflationary."

American Humanist Assn. meeting in N.Y. Feb. 27-28

THE AMERICAN Humanist Assn. will hold its annual conference and a series of meetings at New York's Belmont Plaza Hotel Feb. 27 and 28. Friday's meeting will be devoted to the theme, The Darwin-Wallace Centennial, featuring Herman J. Muller as speaker, while the Saturday luncheon honors the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Dewey. Corliss Lamont is chairman.

Saturday evening the conference will be addressed by Dr. Brock Chisholm, first Director General of the World Health Organization. His subject will be Freedom To Think.

Registration for non-members to all public sessions is $2, and advance registrations for luncheon and dinner may be made through AHA headquarters, Box 227, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

THE 21st CONGRESS OF THE CPSU VOWS TO PRODUCE:

In the next 7 years, more than in the past 41

The nine-day (Jan. 27-Feb. 5) 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party stressed the seven-year plan, which received the delegates' unanimous approval. It also indicated the direction of many aspects of Soviet society, based on experiences since the 20th Congress. For example, Premier Khrushchev urged more responsibility for Soviet youth and consideration for older cadres "if they wish to take up other work or retire."

The statements of Khrushchev and Mikoyan that there were no political prisoners in the Soviet Union indicated the importance Moscow placed on the new criminal code recently introduced. It deprives the political police of the power to sentence, imprison and deport citizens; establishes the principle of sentencing only after open trial in court; reduces penalties and eliminates guilt by association.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), who reported that Khrushchev had derided the Chinese commune system, came in for a rebuke in the Soviet premier's closing speech. He suggested Humphrey had a wild imagination and said it was unthinkable that he would discuss CP policies and "our relations with our best friends" with any stranger—especially "a man who himself boasts of his 20-year struggle against communism."

The 21st Congress pledged to share the Soviet Union's increasing bounty with other socialist lands and friendly countries, and confirmed the solidarity of the socialist world while allowing differences in methods of building socialism. In the article below, the GUARDIAN's Wilfred Burchett gives his impressions of the 21st Congress.

Walt Partymiller, York Gazette and Daily
Let's Hope—This Year!

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

OF ALL THE IMPRESSIONS from the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the dominant one is that of the extraordinary confidence with which delegates discussed overtaking U.S. levels of production in all essential fields within a few years. The production goals for 1965 are tremendous enough, but delegate after delegate stood up to say that after a careful survey they have decided their part of the plan can be carried out in far less time.

Some idea of what is involved was summed up by Presidium member Mikhail Suslov: "In space of seven years the Soviet Union will produce as much industrial goods as it produced during all the time of its existence, that is in 41 years. Does there exist a person who would not be staggered by these figures?

I recently talked with Bruno Pontecorvo, the Italian-born outstanding British atomic scientist who in 1952 came to the Soviet Union where he could work on exclusively peaceful uses of atomic energy. "What is the reason for the Soviet's edge over the Western world in science?" I asked. "The Soviet Union is not ahead in all branches, by any means," he replied. "The U.S. and Britain are ahead in some branches But the important thing is the rate of growth. That is far higher here and this is what demonstartes the superiority of socialism over capitalism."

ULTIMATE GOAL: Pontecorvo was speaking of science, of course. But the rate of growth in industrial and agricultural production is just as striking and is the main element on which Soviet leaders are counting to outstrip the U.S. Khrushchev pointed out that this is not an aim in itself but is only a yardstick. From that point on there will be further leaps ahead until they can start putting into effect the avowed Communist aim of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

What is planned for Siberia shows the way they are thinking, and shows also that Khrushchev has no more worries about the sort of opposition he met when he first proposed plowing up the virgin lands of the east and gradually making it the main breadbasket.

Forty percent of all industrial investment is to be east of the Urals. The other 60% invested in the traditional industrial centers of the west are mainly for expanding and overhauling existing enterprises. But the $80 billion to be invested in the east are for brand new enterprises. The east—mainly Siberia and Kazakhstan—is gradually to become the powerhouse and heavy industrial base of all Russia, as well as the breadbasket.

BRUNO PONTECORVO
'It's the rate that counts'

GO EAST, YOUNG MAN: It will have huge, highly automated industries which require little manpower, sending its power and semi-processed materials back for the consumer goods industries in the densely-populated west. Similarly the former virgin lands of the east will concentrate on basic grain crops, grown on a huge scale with automatic tractors and combines doing the bulk of the work, while the west concentrates on industrial crops and turning out meat, milk, butter and eggs.

By 1965, the formerly barren, sparsely populated east—with virtually no industry at all a few years ago—will turn out, according to Khrushchev, 50% of the country's coal, 48% of steel, 88% of copper, 72% of aluminum, 42% of cement, 46% of electric power and 52% of timber.

The call is to be "'go east, young man" and Communist Youth League Secretary Vladimir Semichastny spoke of enrolling a million Youth League members to spearhead the assault on these fabulous, untapped riches of the east. This plowing up of the reserves in the east was, of course, the point where Khrushchev had his head-on collision with Malenkov, Bulganin and the others.

NEW WAYS: Attacks on the "anti-party" group were part of the routine of the Congress session, but I see nothing to justify the predictions in many Western newspapers that the Congress would lay the grounds for some sort of trial of Malenkov and the others. It seems more in keeping with the new way things are being done that Ivan Spiridonov of the Leningrad party committee suggested they should appear before the Congress and explain their mistakes. The Congress, he said, should be the place for explanations, not a court.

Anastas Mikoyan, adding his quota of criticism, said the reason for the attacks was to "expose the falseness of their position and the correctness of the Leninist Central Committee." He also remarked that one of the most important developments in the past few years was the "enormous advance of Soviet democracy." At certain stages of transition "force was necessary," but Mikoyan made it clear he thought this phase was long past. He noted with obvious satisfaction that no one is now prosecuted for political offences.

NEW METHODS: "Conservatism" has been a favorite object of attack by many speakers. Even on building methods, Khrushchev, speaking of the need for large application of pre-fabrication and industrialization of the building trades, said: "Perhaps we shall have to adopt a decision on this to set a definite time limit by which conservative building methods must be ended."

There were many fascinating glimpses of how Soviet leaders see developments in the fairly immediate future. Khrushchev—and other speakers—dealt with the problem of closing the gap between town and country life.

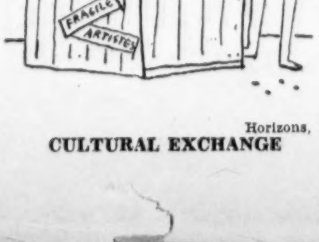
Present huge communal farms could merge and jointly undertake certain industrial processes. They could set up electric power stations, meat, vegetable and fruit canning plants, sausage and other meat products enterprises. The collective farms would gradually become urban centers with all the economic and cultural facilities of town life. With educational reform under way by which many agricultural institutes would move out of the capital on to the farms, they would become educational centers as well.

BASIC CHANGES: Public organizations will even now start taking over some functions till now performed by the State—an important transitional or preparatory step to communism. Khrushchev mentioned this in his opening report and Suslov, usually regarded as the party's outstanding theoretician, also touched on it. "As Soviet society develops," he said, "the methods that state organs employ in their activities also change. Coercion has never been the main method used by the socialist state in its activities. Today the sphere for coercion is becoming still narrower. It is spearheaded only against the agents that imperialist states smuggle in—against thieves, stealers of public property, murderers and other anti-social elements...

"In the new stage of building communism, public organizations will gradually take over a considerable number of the functions performed by the organs of state. The trade unions, the YCL, the cooperatives and other mass organizations . . . mirror the profoundly democratic character of the socialist order and their role and importance will steadily grow."

Khrushchev referred to a "drastic reduction" in the size of the security forces and the setting up of "Courts of Honor" by organizations where an offender worked, to deal with all but major infractions of law and which would exercise above all a "prophylactic and educative" role. Some units of "workers militia" have already been set up in Leningrad from trade unions and YCL organizations to maintain public order—and apparently this contains the germs of a future internal security force.

Much new ground was broken by the Congress and predictions in certain Western papers that the Khrushchev line would be seriously challenged is shown to have had no basis. With real prospects of a 40% increase in workers' and farmers' incomes in the next seven years and a working week of 30 to 35 hours, it is not difficult to believe that the Khrushchev line is a very popular one here.



Horizons, Paris
CULTURAL EXCHANGE

BAD FOR ANIMALS BUT ALL RIGHT FOR PEOPLE

Senate okays new coal-tar dye for oranges

THE SENATE on Feb. 9 passed a bill to permit the use for the next 19 months of a coal-tar dye for coloring oranges. The dye, Red-2, was developed as a substitute for Red-32, which was banned by Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming as harmful to health.

The oranges affected are grown principally in Florida and Texas and are greenish and non-uniform in color when ripe.

Dyes have been used for many years, growers explain, because the public expects oranges to be orange in color. In 1955 the Food and Drug Administration discovered that Red-32 was lethal for dogs and banned its use. But the dye was protected by special legislation and the Florida Citrus Growers took the FDA to court. The Court of Appeals held for the growers, but on Dec. 16, 1958, the Supreme Court overturned the ruling.

LONG STUDY: Under the new bill, Red-32 will be permitted in use until May 1, 1959, and Red-2 until Sept. 1, 1961. It was passed without opposition and with the approval of the FDA although it was conceded that Red-2 is harmful to animals in large quantities. "But," said a report of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, "in quantities necessary to color the skin of oranges it is without hazard to man."

The problem of toxic effects of food additives has been before Congress for almost seven years. The purpose of the emergency bill, sponsors said, was to give Congress two more years to study the problem.

65-PLUS NEED GOVERNMENT PROTECTION

Private health plans for senior citizens are full of loop-holes

By Robert E. Light

ONE OF THE PLEASANT facts of life today is that people are living longer than they used to. There are almost 15,000,000 persons in the U.S. 65 years of age and older; by 1980 it is expected there will be 25,000,000. But as science conquers disease and increases the life span, it becomes increasingly clear that society has not kept pace to provide a useful and secure place for its senior citizens.

Today retired persons over 65 are haunted by economic fears. A Twentieth Century Fund report showed that in 1956, three-fourths of Americans over 65 had annual incomes below $1,000. In 1958 the national average of old age assistance payments was $61.79 a month.

But the biggest fear is how to pay increasing medical and hospital costs for protracted illnesses likely to occur in the years past 65. Most persons covered by health insurance during working years are dropped by the insuring companies on retirement or when they reach 65. For them illness means dipping into savings, if they have any, asking their children for help, or relying on local charity.

NEW SCHEMES: Most insurance companies in the past refused to insure older

London Evening Express
"I've already diagnosed myself, young man. All I want from you is a cure."

people or asked exorbitant premiums because they were "bad risks." But recently some companies have reversed themselves.

Last year Continental Casualty set off a hard-sell advertising campaign for its 65 Plus Hospitalization Plan. As a come-on, it offered the plan to all over 65, regardless of medical history. For a nominal fee subscribers were signed up for the Natl. Assn. of Retired Persons which made them eligible for hospitalization insurance. At an additional cost of $6.50 a month they were insured for up to $10 a day for 31 days of hospital confinement; up to $100 for laboratory fees and up to $200 for surgical fees.

To many older people this seemed like a sound hedge against sudden major medical expenses. Continental signed up 250,000 in seven Eastern states. Mutual of Omaha instituted a plan in the South with similar results. A dozen other companies are readying similar schemes.

THE LOOP-HOLES: If the plans are a hedge for the subscribers, they are also fool-proof money-makers for the companies, with built-in escape hatches. The plans cover hospitalization for a given illness only once a year. Persons with chronic ailments confined more than once in a year must pay all hospital costs after the first confinement. Also, few hospitals charge as little as $10 a day; the difference must be paid by the patient. Although the companies assure subscribers the plan is non-cancellable, the policy is written in the name of the old-age association. If experience proves the plan unprofitable for the company, it can cancel the group's policy or raise the rates.

If real help is to come for the aged, Washington is the key. In the last Congress Rep. Aime Forand (D-R.I.) sought a solution in amendments to the social security law. His bill died in committee, but on Feb. 2 Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced a modified version in the Senate. For all persons eligible for social security benefits (retirement, survivor or dependent), the bill provides:

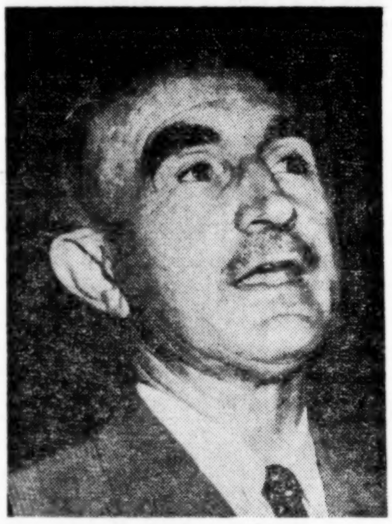
- Full coverage for hospital and surgical expenses for up to 60 days a year.
- Full nursing home care for 120 days, minus time spent in a hospital.

THE ADVANTAGES: Under the bill each person on social security would receive a card certifying his eligibility, to be presented to the hospital or nursing home at the time of confinement. The hospital or nursing home would bill the Secretary of Health, Welfare and Education at previously-agreed rates.

Payment would come from a payroll tax of one-half of one percent, shared equally between employe and employer, on income up to $4,800 a year. This means a maximum of $12-a-year payment by any employe.

Advocates point to advantages over private insurance plans. Under the Forand-Morse bill premiums are one-sixth as large; they are made when the person is working and are based on income. In addition it covers full hospital costs for longer periods and includes nursing home care.

'SOCIALISM': To the American Medical Assn. the bill smacked of "socialized medicine." It said it was an opening wedge for national health insurance for all. It



SEN. WAYNE MORSE
A bill for the aged

was joined by the insurance companies and some dental societies in lobbying against the bill.

AMA spokesmen set out their position based on a four-year study by an association committee. They said expansion of health care facilities for the aged must come from "the community" and private insurance companies. The association's contribution was to charge lower fees for retired people. Sen. Morse commented: "Such an answer is like giving an aspirin to a man with a broken bone."

For many the Forand-Morse proposals do not go far enough. They point to its failure to cover non-surgical illnesses, dental care and drug costs. But it seemed to them an important partial relief.

CLOUDY FUTURE: The future of the bill seems linked to political maneuvering. Some thought that Forand, who as second ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee is in a good position to call the play, would soft-pedal the bill this year and bring it up in 1960 as campaign ammunition.

Some Republican liberals sought to get themselves off the spot until after the 1960 elections without opposing the bill. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), along with four other Republican Senators, introduced a bill to establish a commission for a two-year study of national health problems. It would go beyond problems of the aged and also investigate health coverage for the unemployed, mentally ill, farmers and minority groups discriminated against by private companies.

On record for the Forand-Morse bill are the AFL-CIO, Townsend Plan clubs and other old age groups, and the Physicians Forum.

It seems like a good time to remind Congress that one of the faculties still left to the aged is the ability to vote—for their friends.

NINE YEARS OF THE SACB

CP to fight third ruling that it is 'foreign controlled'

FOR THE THIRD TIME since it was set up in 1950, the Subversive Activities Control Board has ruled that the Communist Party is a foreign-controlled organization and should be required to register with the Dept. of of Justice.

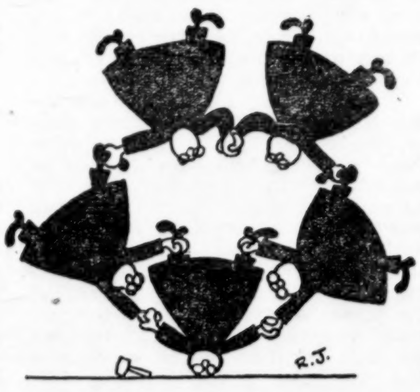
The Board's Feb. 9 ruling automatically returns the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals. A year ago the Appeals Court remanded the case to the Board with instructions to comply with the Supreme Court 1957 decision in the Jencks case allowing inspection of relevant reports by informers to the FBI. The CP had asked to see reports of Government witnesses Mary Stalcup Markward and Louis Budenz as a means of establishing that they had given false testimony.

The Board admitted that on two of three counts reviewed in Mrs. Markward's testimony the witness' credibility was impaired. Mrs. Markward had testified she had worked for the FBI without pay, receiving only expenses; the record showed she received "substantial payments."

FINDINGS STAND: Mrs. Markward had also told the hearing that Philip Frankfeld, former D.C.-Maryland CP leader, had once said American Communists would not fight in a war against the Soviet Union. Her report to the FBI contained no reference to this statement, but the Board concluded Mrs. Markward had drawn a "warranted" conclusion from remarks attributed to Frankfeld.

Because Budenz was too ill to appear for cross-examination on discrepancies between his testimony and his FBI reports, parts of his testimony were ordered stricken from the record.

Despite these concessions, the Board concluded: "We affirm all the original findings." The findings were first handed down in April, 1953. Though the Appeals Court soon afterwards upheld the decision and the validity of the Internal Security Act of 1950 under which the SACB operates, the Supreme Court in 1956 handed the case back to the Board to check the credibility of three witnesses, Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch and turnabout Harvey Matusow. After a second look, the Board decided



to strike the testimony of all three, but nevertheless reaffirmed its ruling.

KEY TEST: Whatever the disposition of the Court of Appeals on the latest finding, the case will probably return to the Supreme Court for a decision on the legality of the Act and its creature, the Board. Several other organizations which have been designated by the Board as "Communist action," "Communist front" or "Communist infiltrated" groups are awaiting final determination of the CP case which is regarded as the key test of the Act.

Organizations adjudged guilty under the Act are required to file with the Justice Dept. their fnancial records and lists of all officers and members.

INFORMER EXCUSED FOR 'INACCURACIES'

New trial denied in Cleveland T-H case

Special to the Guardian

CLEVELAND

ALTHOUGH THE CHIEF prosecution witness in the Cleveland Taft Hartley Conspiracy Case admitted in open court that he was an Army deserter, and the prosecution admitted a crucial FBI report had not been given the defense, motions for a new trial have been rejected. The appeal of the case, which had been held in abeyance by the Sixth Circuit Court in Cincinnati, will now go forward.

During hearings on a new trial in mid-December, chief prosecution witness Fred Gardner admitted he had deserted from the Army and never returned, but claimed his previous denial under oath of Army service was due to confusion.

The defense showed in the hearing that an FBI report, dated October, 1955, which revealed other falsehoods by Gardner concerning his marriage record, birth date and job history, had been withheld from the defendants. Since Gardner in the original trial had sworn he had not talked to the FBI until 1956, the defense had not known that the earlier report even existed, and charged it had been suppressed by the prosecution.

TO APPEAL: The court accepted Gardner's explanations for his false and conflicting testimony on the ground that "his testimony covered such a wide variety of persons, places, and dates that inaccuracies would be bound to creep in without a written record which he did not keep."

An appeal from the ruling will be added to the original appeal which attacked the Cleveland verdict on various constitutional grounds.

The Ad Hoc Committee, which has been collecting funds for the defense, has emphasized that funds to process the appeal are now urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to Ad Hoc Committee, P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, Ohio.

Browder-Dobbs in N.Y. debate on Marxism in America

EARL BROWDER, former general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will meet in a public debate Fri., Feb. 20. Theme of the debate will be "Does Marxist Theory Retain Full Validity for the U.S.A.?" Mr. Dobbs will defend the affirmative, while Mr. Browder will uphold the negative.

The debate will be held in the Atlas Room of the Central Plaza, Second Av. and 6 St. at 8 p.m. Muriel McAvoy will serve as chairman.

AN ENGLISH CHURCHMAN ON THE VATICAN COUNCIL

The new Pope and the world of socialism

By Stanley Evans
The Rev. Stanley Evans is Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Dalston, London

JOSEPH STALIN RULED without calling the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party for over a decade; the Vatican Council stood adjourned in 1870 and has not met since. Rome moves more slowly than Moscow, but it is just as capable for all that of decisive action.

It is generally assumed, both by Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics, that the really decisive event in the Vatican Council was the decree on Papal Infallibility. The truth is that the really fundamental thing was the decree which made the Pope the "Universal Ordinary." An "ordinary" in the Church is somebody who exercises direct jurisdiction.

Before 1870 the Pope was regarded as supreme in faith and morals within the Roman Church and the Court of Appeal against the action of ordinaries, but he did not exercise direct jurisdiction outside the archdiocese of Rome. After 1870 he could give any orders he liked anywhere within the Roman Church—the Bishops became office boys.

It was this decree which resulted in an unparalleled centralization of administration in the Roman Church.

THIS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALISM has led to a stupidity in the conjoint affairs of morals and politics almost passing understanding, resulting in a cold war between Rome and the Communist-led countries which need never have been. Because of the Pope's universal jurisdiction he was able to set aside the wishes of local churches as in Czechoslovakia, and compel the situation in which Archbishops suffered either imprisonment or house arrest.

By so doing the Vatican has built a mass of cynicism among Catholics in Eastern Europe. After the Mindszenty trial, when the Cardinal had forbidden any clergy or monks or nuns to accept government-offered contracts for teaching in state schools and so reduced some of the teaching orders to beggary, I spoke to a leading member of one of these orders in Hungary. "Surely," I said, "the Vatican cannot continue indefinitely to produce a situation where you cannot be a good Catholic and at the same time take any kind of common-sense view of the situation in which you are living?" He shrugged his shoulders: "What is one country to the Vatican?" he asked.

POLAND'S CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI
In Rome for the College of Cardinals

Czechoslovakia is an outstanding example of the harm produced by Roman overcentralization. At first Beran, Archbishop of Prague, got on well with the government and was respected by its members. "We think Beran is a democratic man," they said, "but we are worried about the orders he is getting from Rome." Beran in fact had a masterly position from which to support all that was good in the new order and to oppose anything that was unprincipled. Instead he was compelled to fight where his moral ground was weakest and where he could only lose.

SO THE CALLING by Pope John XXIII of a new Council offers enormous opportunities. It is backed by certain steps which have shown everybody something of where the Pope stands. The accreditation of Lithuanian, Polish, and other unreal emigré diplomats was not renewed, and by this one act Communist governments were bound to see a will to friendship. Decentralization and "democratization" in some measure of the Church in Rome itself has already begun, and the Conference of Italian Bishops has been made a permanent body. Excessive centralization, it is now universally admitted, had led to a situation in the Vatican for which "corruption" is hardly too strong a word. All that has now gone.

The Council the Pope has called is entitled "ecumenical," which means universal. Its right to be so-called is not admitted by the Orthodox, Anglican and other Churches who hold that a Universal Council of the Church must include representatives of all Christians and not just of the Roman obedience. For all that it seems that at least the Orthodox, if not others, will be invited, although it is unlikely that they could accept full membership without accepting the papal claims. Nevertheless any gesture of friendship is to be welcomed and could have far-reaching results.

THE FIRST PUBLIC declaration of Pope John treated of nuclear warfare in a way which would be warmly received by all of the Orthodox Churches, and here as elsewhere there are boundless possibilities of common action. Both Orthodox and Roman have already gone far beyond the Church of England in this matter.

But it would be wrong to be too sanguine. The knots of generations are not lightly disentangled, and there are many problems to be settled—the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Poland's Western Territories is one—before there can be any real friendship between the Vatican and the socialist world. That John XXIII has opened a gate is of overwhelming importance, but it would be unreal to forget that the Moscow old guard, who set themselves to check any rapid liberalization of the Soviet Union, have nothing on the bunch of Cardinals and Secretaries who have inherited centuries of training in obstruction.

In this matter, as in most others, it is unreal to expect too much at the top unless the bottom, too, is in motion.

A REPORT FROM THE INSIDE

The private duchy of Angola

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA, GHANA

AMID THE GENERAL optimism of the All-African Peoples Conference held here in December, there was one unhappy delegate: Rui Ventura, representing the Peoples Union of Angola. He came from a country which had been free and independent from the 12th to the 15th century only to become enslaved by Portuguese colonialism.

Basing itself on the fiction that Angola is an integral part of Portugal proper, Salazar's government has refused to furnish the UN with basic data on its non-self-governing territories as prescribed under the UN Charter. But, though Angola is sealed off from the outside world (foreign journalists find it impossible to obtain an entry visa there), information originating both from official Portuguese sources and from the national resistance movement, is trickling out. Last week there were reports of ruthless suppression of freedom demonstrations.

CASTE SYSTEM: The population of Angola is divided into categories: Portuguese born in Portugal; Portuguese born in Africa; Mulattoes, enjoying the same status as Portuguese born in Africa; Assimilated Africans (assimilados, whose wives are exempt from forced labor.)

Portuguese official publications list the fifth and last category of inhabitants, the vast majority of native-born Africans, under the category of "uncivilized persons."

According to the 1950 census, Angola's African population exceeded 4,000,000; these figures were based on native tax receipts. But other official Portuguese sources put the number of African taxpayers in 1954 at 692,376, with another 1,384,752 "excused" from tax payment as disabled or unemployable—the old, the sick and the infants. Thus the African population of Angola stands at just over two million, having decreased from 2,700,000 since the 1900 census.

GENOCIDE: Forced labor—from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., Sundays included, at a nominal pay of $33.60 a year, with taxes deducted at the source—has not only led to genocide (the death-rate is far in excess of the birth-rate), but to massive emigration to the Belgian Congo and other neighboring territories, with nearly 1,000,000 Angolans now living away.

The Native Labor Code of 1929, which is still in force, provides that "the state may compel natives to work only on public projects of general interest to the community," while the Natives' Statute states: "The State will endeavor to make the native recognize that work is an essential factor of progress . . . " Last time we heard a similar pronouncement was during the Hitler regime, when the inscription over the entrance to the extermination camp of Oswiecim read: **Arbeit macht frei** (Work makes free).

SETTLERS INCREASE: While the African population of Angola has been reduced and incapacitated, Portuguese settlers, during the same period from 1900 to 1950, have increased from 9,000 to 300,000. The Governor-General, Colonel de Sa Vianna Rebello, declared recently: "Angola is a large country and we mean to stay here . . . Questions of autonomy and emancipation do not arise and we are vigilant to see that that remains so."

It goes without saying that the products of Portugal have exclusive priority in Angola, while the soil and sub-soil of the colony feeds the metropolitan market. Industries, as long as they do not compete with industries in Portugal, are encouraged, such as cotton-spinning and weaving mills, sugar and cement factories, large coffee and cocoa plantations, and the irresponsible exploitation of gold, diamond and copper mines.

FORCED LABOR IN ANGOLA
There is many a rock in the path of freedom

Medical services are provided for the white settlers, but at the ratio of one doctor to 80,000 population, Africans go without any type of medical care. With malnutrition a large contributory factor, tuberculosis takes a heavy toll. Sanitation is largely non-existent.

CULTURE DESTROYED: In the matter of education, figures again speak for themselves: the total number of African children attending primary school is 3,183. Secondary school student assimilados number 68. Institutions of higher learning do not exist. The Organic Law insists that all instruction must "always propagate the knowledge of the Portuguese language" and that "instruction especially directed to natives must always be entirely entrusted to missionary personnel." Both provisions stifle the people's national culture—and separate educated Africans from their own people.

Rui Ventura cited to me hundreds of similar instances and examples of a people tortured, decimated and enslaved. Under these conditions, an organized national movement was late coming into existence. But the majority of Africans, all of Bantu origin, have developed a national consciousness which first found expression in 1954 in the Union of Peoples of Northern Angola. Spreading widely, the National Liberation Movement, through secret organization, converted into the Angola Peoples Union in 1958.

HELP NEEDED: Asking for immediate independence, Angolan patriots daily risk being beaten to death or sent to concentration camps. But where one falls, another takes his place, and the "African Manifesto" of August, 1958, published clandestinely in Angola, called on the entire population to rise.

Rise they may, but it is up to all enemies of colonialism outside Angola to help make their revolt a reality. Left to themselves in their despair, the people of Angola may be bombed and machine-gunned into even more cruel horror.

FORMER NAZIS HOLD HIGH POSTS

Anti-Semitism grows in W. Germany

A SHARP RISE in anti-Semitism has accompanied economic and military revival in West Germany. Some of its extent was revealed in a recent case involving Friedrich Nieland, a 62-year-old Hamburg merchant.

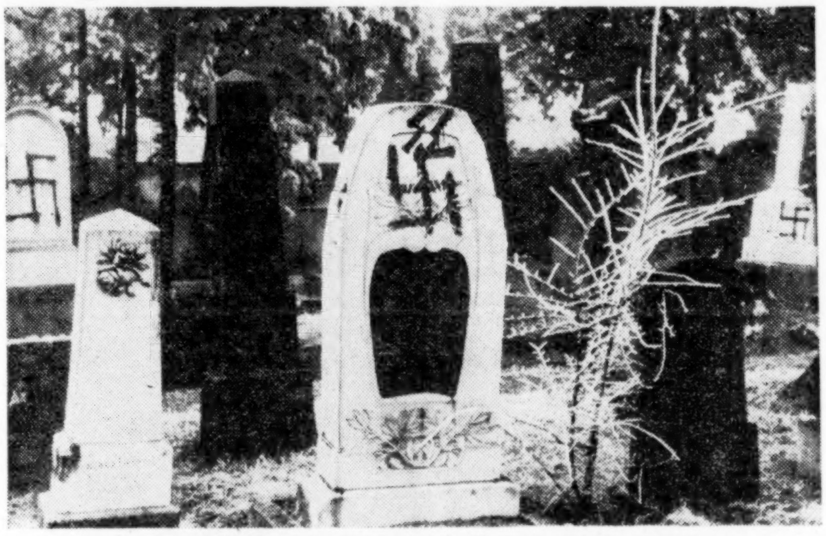
He wrote and distributed a pamphlet, **How Many World (Money) Wars Do Nations Have to Lose?**, in which he termed the slaughter of 6,000,00 Jews "an immense lie" against the Germans and described the killings as a "maneuver . . . launched by secret representatives of international Jewry."

Early last year Hamburg police seized the pamphlet after it had been mailed to several prominent persons, including Federal ministers and deputies. Nieland and his 77-year-old printer, Adolf Heimberg, were brought to trial for libeling Jewish citizens, but a Hamburg lower court dismissed the case last November.

JUDGE'S HISTORY: The public prosecutor appealed to the Hamburg Supreme Court which quashed the charges last month on the grounds that "the author had separated the Jewish people from 'international Jewry' and any measures suggested in the pamphlet were directed against the latter."

Hamburg Deputy Mayor Dr. Neuermann did some research and learned that Chief Justice Enno Budde, who had handed down the decision, had been convicted in 1927 for acts against the Weimar Republic. During the Nazi era he had advocated anti-Semitic laws. In 1948 he refused to convict a former Gestapo official charged with atrocities in a concentration camp, and in 1952 he quashed charges against a police official who had called the Federal Republic's flag "a dirty rag" on the ground that the official meant only that the flag needed washing.

Justice Budde's decision was widely reported in the press, especially in Britain. Max Brauer, mayor of Hamburg, went to Bonn to protest directly to Chancellor Adenauer, who ordered the Bundestag to pass legislation making racial defamation illegal.



DESECRATION OF JEWISH GRAVES IN FREIBURG, GERMANY
The swastikas were smeared on with red paint this year

THE RESULTS: The Chancellor's order raised considerable protest and several incidents of anti-Semitism followed. Many lawyers wrote letters to the newspapers accusing the government of trying to destroy democracy by interfering with the courts. One such letter to Hamburg's **Die Welt** said that "the vast majority of the German people regards a reasonable minimum of anti-Semitism . . . as in no way deplorable."

The Nieland case drew public attention to the issue, but there have been many earlier occurrences of anti-Semitism in West Germany and in West Berlin, although there are less than 30,000 Jews left in the area. Jewish synagogues and cemeteries have been desecrated. Teachers like Ludwig Zind and Dr. Stielau brought anti-Semitism to the schoolroom; Stielau charged that **The Diary of Anne Frank** was a forgery.

Large numbers of former Nazis are returning to positions of power which they use to spread anti-Semitism and to protect those accused of overt acts. It is estimated that at least 153 former Nazis are public prosecutors; 149 hold offices in district courts. 147 are in upper provincial courts; and 93 in key positions as directors or presidents of lower or upper provincial courts.

POSTS IN GOVERNMENT: The **Manchester Guardian** noted that "three out of every four German judges first held an important post under the Nazis [and] it would have been surprising if some elements of Nazi dogma had not become interwoven with the usual German attributes of hair-splitting and giving precedence to the letter of the law over its spirit."

Such judges have freed, or lightly punished, many former Nazis accused of anti-Semitism and atrocities in concentration camps. Only when overwhelming evidence was presented did the judge become stern, as in the cases of Wilhelm (Pistol) Schubert and Gustav (Iron Gus) Sorge in Bonn. They were accused by 150 witnesses of atrocities against Jews and other inmates of Hitler's Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Schubert and Sorge had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947 by the Soviet War Crimes Tribunal. They were repatriated to West Germany in 1956. On Feb. 6 in Bonn they were again sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor after admitting their crimes but insisting they only obeyed orders. Currently, Germany is watching the trial at Ansbach of Karl Chmielewski and Herbert Junge, also accused of atrocities in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Former Nazis have also been returning to political power and to posts in Adenauer's government. Ex-General Reinefarth of the Storm Troopers has become a member of the state parliament of Schleswig-Holstein; one of his colleagues was a prominent Nazi party official and another a Hitler Youth leader. Hans Globke, who had prepared a special interpretation of the Nuremberg racial laws when he served under Hitler, is now Secretary of State to Adenauer.

PAINFUL: Such ex-Nazis in power have aided many others to escape to some hospitable foreign country, especially Egypt and Argentina. With their help, Ludwig Zind, convicted war criminal Dr. Hans Eisele and many others have fled Germany.

Dr. Kreysig of Magdeburg, a leading Evangelical churchman, last month called for a "campaign of atonement" by Germans for the crimes of the Nazis. He suggested that young Germans should put in a year's work without compensation in some country which suffered from Hitler's aggression. Adenauer assured World Jewish Congress president Dr. Nahum Goldman on Jan. 23 that anti-Semites will be punished.

But Adenauer's party and West German legal opinion still give support to former Nazis.

FREEDOM WITH STRINGS ATTACHED

Cyprus to be tied to NATO under compromise plan for independence

AFTER A WEEK'S conference in Switzerland's plush mountain-top Grand Hotel overlooking Zurich, the Premiers of Greece and Turkey announced on Feb 11 that they had reached "a compromise agreement [on] the unity and welfare of Cyprus."

The joint communiqué of Karamanlis of Greece and Menderes of Turkey did not disclose details. But their off-the-record statements and "authoritative sources" indicated that the compromise was reached on the basis of the following steps:

- Cyprus by the end of 1959 will become a presidential republic with an ethnic Greek Cypriote president and an ethnic Turkish Cypriote vice president.
- There will be a single legislative chamber with weighted representation for the Turks: the Greek community (four-fifths of the island's 530,000 population) will be allotted two-thirds of the seats; the Turkish community (one-fifth) one-third.
- The vice president's approval will be required for a wide range of policies which may be considered to affect the security of Turkey and of the Turkish Cypriote minority.
- A specified number of posts in the armed forces and the police must be guaranteed the Turkish Cypriotes.
- Cyprus' independence and the security of Turkey, 40 miles from Cyprus, are to be guaranteed by a Greek-Turkish-Cypriote-British treaty and backed by a combined Greek-Turkish force of troops alternately under the command of Greek and Turkish officers.
- British military bases will be preserved and Britain's commercial interests on the island protected; Cyprus will not be allowed to have an "undesirable"—that is, Socialist — government; political prisoners will be granted amnesty.
- Independent Cyprus will join the UN and NATO.

WHERE IT BEGAN: The sequence of events culminating in Zurich dates back to last fall, when Greece and Greek Cypriotes discarded the idea of Enosis (unity of Cyprus with Greece) in favor of independence for Cyprus.

At the UN General Assembly last December, the Asian-African and all the socialist nations backed the independence demand and blocked passage of a British-supported Turkish resolution for partioning Cyprus.

Several weeks passed in fruitless negotiations, punctuated by British suppression of Greek demonstrations in Cyprus, intermittent truce and a warning by the Greek Cypriote underground EOKA that it would make massive use of "weapons and passive resistance" against British rule. The tide seemed to turn last month.

THE MOTIVATIONS: What caused the turn? Stories of British atrocities provoking counter-atrocities in Cyprus had reached scandalous proportions in Britain, where the futility of forcible suppression was becoming obvious.

Greece and Turkey found themselves floundering in a sea of financial stress when many of their partners in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation decided on currency convertibility and dissolved the European Payments Union. For lack of foreign currency reserves, they could not follow the first move; the second confronted them with international payments problems without the cushion of EPU credit.

More important still was the aftermath of the Iraqi revolution. NATO members realized that it had killed the Baghdad Pact and considered reviving the Balkan Pact. This, through Greece and Turkey, linked Yugoslavia with NATO. But a pre-condition was solving the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus, and bringing Cyprus into NATO.

WHAT HAPPENS NOW: The compromise still must be discussed by Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cypriote Greek and Turkish representatives. This must await British Prime Minister Macmillan's return from the Soviet Union. That conference may be torn apart by the conflicting British-Turkish-Greek demands for measures to protect their respective special interests, and by Greek Cypriote reluctance to harbor a NATO base.

It was difficult to gauge public reaction in Turkey, since the Turkish press is gagged and news controlled by the Menderes government. Opinion in Greece was divided.

Officially, the Zurich statement was hailed in Athens as a "milestone in Cyprus' history"; unofficially, many held that it made the Cyprus government a condominium (like the Anglo-Egyptian condominium over the Sudan in the past) and therefore even less desirable than open British colonial rule.

PRINCIPLES ACCEPTED: Reaction in Cyprus was definitely cool. Progressives saw the NATO base automatically aligning Cyprus with the West in the cold war—and a possible hot war—without the Cypriotes' consent. To them independence without neutrality was worse than a continuing struggle for full independence.

HANGED IN EFFIGY
Cyprus Archbishop Makarios got this treatment in Istanbul last year.

Nevertheless, the Zurich compromise solution seemed to be an advance in the sense that it accepted the principles of Cyprus' right to independence and peaceful negotiation to achieve it.

BELFRAGE KNOCKS ON THE CONTROVERSIAL DOOR

Another look at 'Doctor Zhivago'

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE GREAT WAVE of anti-Sovietism caused by the Pasternak affair swept across the earth while I was in India. Even in that land of mass hunger and illiteracy, disgust at the Soviets' suppression of a Nobel Prize novel and denunciation of its author was reflected in almost every publication and conversation with intellectuals.

While agreeing with them (and, later, with some of my Soviet friends) that it would have been better to publish **Dr. Zhivago**, I felt that the disgust over this matter could hardly be in proportion to its importance to the world in general.

In any case, the international reviews seemed overwhelming evidence that this was a good novel. Having now come belatedly to it, I am impressed by the mildness of the long rejection slip sent by **Novy Mir** to Pasternak, but more assured than before that the book should have been made available to Soviet readers.

MY PARTICULAR BIASES are familiar to GUARDIAN readers. With a few hundred million other inhabitants of our globe I believe that the Soviet revolution was mankind's great forward step in our time, and that on the whole it is fulfilling its promise. Pasternak's 510-page blast at the revolution, if it is anything at all, is an instrument for deepening this conviction.

It is so indifferently executed that only a few of the millions of copies being sold throughout the West will be read through to the end; but those who persist would have to live politically on the moon to be persuaded by its "argument."

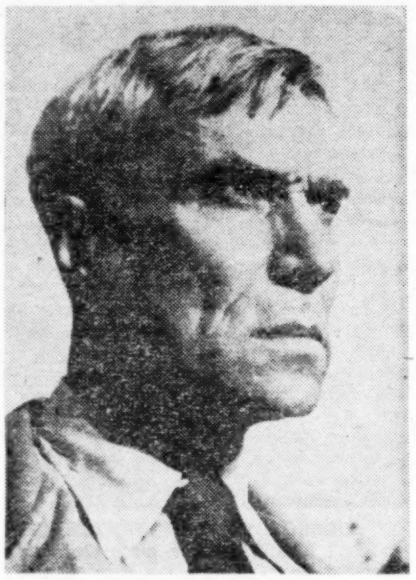
The panegyrics of it as comparable with Tolstoy, and the Nobel award of which neither Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gorky nor Sholokhov was deemed worthy, only serve to underline the decadence or venality or both of Western cultural values. This is not to suggest that even worse novels have not been published in the U.S.S.R., nor that the West has not produced far better ones.

WHAT PASTERNAK has written is an epic of the impotent—of people born into a great moment of history, who do not understand it and take pride in withdrawing and spitting on it. One writes, "people"; their names are Yuri Zhivago, his uncle Nikolay, Lara whom he "loves" and his wife Tonya whom he "worships," etc.; but none of the author's admired characters is a person, for they are all Zhivago (clearly Pasternak), they all talk like Zhivago-Pasternak and only quotation marks suggest that we are in the presence of dialogue.

In his quote-quote monologues—interspersed with scenes which describe action but rarely set the reader's spirit in motion, and with descriptions full of poetic sensitiveness to "nature"—Pasternak poses his "Christian" alternative to Marxism. A very occasional short paragraph pictures an Uncle Nikolay as "pro-bolshevik," or observes (at the end, after World War II) "a presage of freedom in the air." These passages are grotesque in the general context and presumably represent Pasternak's notion of an "insurance policy" for a hostile author living in the U.S.S.R.

PASTERNAK-UNCLE NIKOLAY sets the philosophical stage by scorning "the fashion nowadays for groups"—whether their group-loyalty be "to Kant or Marx": almost the only thing worth being loyal to is "Christ." The advent of "Christ" was the great divide in history because, as Pasternak-Zhivago explains later, the Virgin Birth substituted "inspiration" for "compulsion" as "the basis of life." The message of "Christ" was individualism at all costs—"the mystery of personality"—and the Jews continue to suffer because they rejected this "Christ" and kept on being a "people." But the very concept of a or the people is "utter fiction."

One must admit that all the actions of the novel's various Pasternaks are consistent with this philosophy; the only trouble is that it has no connection whatsoever with the life and message of the crucified Jesus. The consistency is in the exact reverse of that message: i. e., they



BORIS PASTERNAK
An epic for the impotent?

always act from selfish motives.

The first revolutionary upheavals cause Zhivago to be "overwhelmed by the greatness of the moment and the thought of its significance for centuries to come," and "ready to sacrifice himself to make things better"; but he is "powerless to do anything"—except always for himself.

WHEN HE AND LARA serve briefly as "minor commissars" they regard this as "a diversion, like an outdoor sport or a game of blind man's bluff." He flees with his family to a remote village "in search of quiet, retirement and obscurity," reflecting that he knows of no teaching "more self-centered and further from the facts" than Marxism.

There he writes poetry and visits the library and Lara, concealing that he is a doctor although he grudgingly treats anyone who finds it out and "brings a hen or a few eggs or a little butter." Lara studies Marxism so that she may be allowed to work as a teacher, meanwhile delighting in Zhivago's dismissal of "those who inspired the revolution" as "undignified . . . substituting a childish harlequinade" for "life itself."

Forced to become a doctor with the civil-war partisans, Zhivago repeatedly tries to escape and contemplates murdering their leader; he nurses back to health a White Guard whom he accidentally wounded, knowing that this man will "go back to Kolchak's army and continue fighting the Reds." Later, when Lara and Zhivago fall under suspicion, she urges him to take a doctor job because "**they'd like that**" (my emphasis).

ONLY THEY TWO are important, for "all that immeasurable greatness which has been created in the world" through "thousands of years" has been destroyed and "you and I are the last remembrance" of it. "It is in memory of all that vanished splendor that we live and love and weep and cling to one another."

This exhibition of infantile arrogance by Pasternak - Lara, Pasternak - Zhivago manages to top. Back in Moscow in 1929, when he is "sick and tired" of the revolution and his last remaining pro-Soviet friends sicken him by the poverty of their vocabulary ("only Youri" had "sufficient words at his disposal"), he wants to but "could hardly" say to them: "The only bright and living thing about you is that you are living at the same time as myself and are my friends."

Pasternak's outlook on life not only excludes Jesus' "love thy brethren," but cannot even encompass the beauty and wonder of love between individuals. It is a philosophy of the dead, and anyone who thinks he can make effective use of it for propaganda among the living is welcome to try. If this be Christianity, thank God for atheism.

But by his very distortion, Pasternak does make a negative contribution to the truth that wiser men have sought to bring out positively: that in many of their most vital essentials, Christianity and Marxism are akin.

Criticism

TEL AVIV—Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Prime Minister, told a meeting in Tel Aviv that **Dr. Zhivago**, the book by Boris Pasternak, Russian winner of the Nobel Prize, was "one of the most despicable books about Jews ever written by a man of Jewish origin."

—London **Evening Standard**, Feb. 6

W. E. B. DuBois b. Feb. 23, 1868

Bust of W.E.B. DuBois by William Zorach

"Is he the oldest man alive?" my children ask.
No. But the most alive
all his life, and ours, and after ours.
"Will he live forever, like a star or a satellite?"
Yes. His truth will go whirling,
his anger dancing around our world and many others.
When thunder shakes, it is his rage for justice.
When lightning darts, it is his finger pointing:
damn the darkness, full peace ahead—
stop being fools or cowards;
mark my words and make your way.

How then can I wish him well
and years to glow on?
He blesses me and you to rise, to work.

—**Eve Merriam**

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

'Critics and Crusaders' enlarged

CHARLES MADISON'S **Critics & Crusaders**, first published in 1947, is being reissued by Frederick Ungar (131 E. 23d St., N.Y. 10), with studies added of Sen. George Norris, father of TVA; Henry A. Wallace and Justice Hugo Black, and a chapter on the New Deal Era and the McCarthyite period.

The original work, subtitled "A Century of American Protest," discussed Abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown and Wendell Phillips; Utopians Margaret Fuller, Albert Brisbane and Edward Bellamy; Henry Thoreau, Benjamin R. Tucker and Emma Goldman against the anarchist background; Henry George, Brooks Adams and Thorstein Veblen as "dissident economists;" John Peter Altgeld, Lincoln Steffens and Randolph Bourne among "militant liberals;" and socialists Daniel De Leon (whose pioneer Socialist Labor Party still pioneers), Eugene Debs and John Reed. Most of the other great figures of American protest people the book's original 25 chapters.

Ungar offers the new enlarged edition with the question:

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WORK IN PROGRESS: From Peking Anna Louise Strong cabled New Century Publishers proposing a 30,000-word book on China's peoples' communes. The publishers flashed back: "Eagerly awaiting manuscript." It's in the works.

New Century's monthly, **Political Affairs**, for February reprints an 8,000-word text of the Chinese Communist Party on the communes. The issue also has two hitherto unpublished articles by Marx, one on our Civil War, the other on Lincoln; and, from Shirley Graham, a first-hand account of the All-African Peoples Conference recently held in Ghana.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS Service Committee of New England (130 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.) offers a selection of 16 works by and about Gandhi, ranging from Gandhi's summary of Ruskin's essays (15c) to Homer Jack's 532-pp. **Gandhi Reader** ($7.50). Gandhi died 11 years ago in January.

BEN HECHT says his new book, **The Sensualists**, (Julian Messner, Inc., Mar. 23) is "a sort of 19th Century novel minus the asterisks." . . . Vol. VI, No. 1 of Samuel Milton Elam's $1-a-year quarterly, **The American Satiricon** (16-pp., pocket-size) is subtitled "a dictionary of diplomacy" and contains such definitions as: DULLES, An antonym for diplomat . . . ; and ROCKFELLER, a synonym for money. **Address 676 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 31.**

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Foreign policy

(Continued from Page 1)

basic change in the West's approach to the East and who do not find it in the West's most recent reply to the Soviet proposals on Germany.

The U.S., Britain and France on Feb. 16 rejected the proposals the Soviet Union made on Jan. 10 regarding the future of Berlin and Germany and a 28-nation conference to draw up a peace treaty with both West and East Germany. Instead, the Western powers proposed an early Big Four foreign ministers meeting with a broad agenda and with West and East Germans attending it as advisers or observers. The Western powers reiterated that German reunification is primarily the responsibility of the Big Four and not of the East and West German governments.

CHANGES URGED: Voices were being raised in the U.S., however, for a reappraisal not only of the inflexibility but the very basis of the Dulles policy towards the East. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has urged at least a modification of the Dulles doctrine that the Soviet government will eventually collapse and that the U.S. is always morally correct in posing as the righteous defender of Western freedom. Fulbright has said he would prefer exploring the possibility of an East-West accommodation based on mutual respect.

In his Feb. 4 testimony before the Senate subcommittee on disarmament George F. Kennan, former State Dept. chief of policy planning and originator of the "containment of communism" policy, reiterated his changed approach to East-West relations. Kennan said he did "not believe that the Soviet leaders want another major war" or would "inaugurate one by surprise attack" just because they felt they were advanced in long-range striking power.

London Evening Standard

"At ease, men! It's O.K., he got a pass from the C.O.!"

Kennan felt it would be different, however, "if a situation were to arise which caused them to feel that a major war . . . was both inevitable and imminent. In this case we should expect them to take any and all measures . . . to reduce to a minimum the dangers which such a major war could involve for them." Kennan added: "I think, therefore, that it ought to be a constant aim of our statesmanship to see that no such situation develops."

In a long speech on "The Coming Crisis in Germany" in the Senate on Feb. 12, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) went further than Fulbright and Kennan. The Montana Democrat strongly criticized the Administration for failing to take the initiative in resolving the German problem and urged talks with Moscow to create a neutralized Berlin because no matter "how we got to Berlin," the fact is that "we are in Berlin in order to get out."

MANSFIELDS' VIEWS: Mansfield said Dulles' insistence on German reunification based on "free, all-German elections . . . is a strait-jacket, an excuse for immobility, is no policy at all." He proposed instead "talk, a great deal of talk" between the East and the West German governments, covering "the whole range of problems involving the harmonizing of the political, economic and military systems of the two zones."

He added that Germany, when unified, should be guaranteed by Washington and Moscow against threatening, or being threatened by, any neighbors.

Meanwhile, Mansfield urged careful consideration by the West "of the Rapacki Plan, the Eden plan for a demilitarized zone in middle Europe or similar proposals in connection with the unification of Germany."

LABOR MP's RENEGE: Mansfield's proposals were immediately attacked not only by Adenauer supporters in Bonn but also by West Berlin's Mayor Willy Brandt, now traveling in the U.S., as "a dangerous illusion." With presidential elections coming up next year, it was also uncertain how much of a fight even the liberal Democratic Senators would put up in Mansfield's support.

The hopes pinned on British Prime Minister Macmillan's "reconnaissance" visit to the Soviet Union also seemed to have been premature. On Feb. 12 the minority but articulate Labor MP's agreed to withdraw their motion for an East-West disengagement based on a peace treaty signed with a confederation of East and West Germany.

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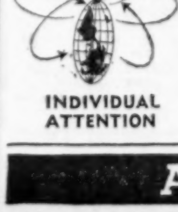

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DENVER SMITH ACT TRIAL

They've never heard of Supreme Court

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Special to the Guardian

AS THE PROSECUTION presents its case in the retrial of seven Smith Act defendants here, it becomes apparent that the government intends to proceed with Smith Act prosecutions as if the Supreme Court had never outlawed evidence of "organizing" and "abstract doctrine."

One time organizer John Lautner (who admitted receiving $42 a day, seven days a week, or $1302 a month as a government witness) testified exactly as he has done in 12 other cases, all since reversed or dismissed. He read from the 1928 program of the Communist International (dissolved in 1942), the Communist Manifesto of 1848 and old articles in **Political Affairs**, until even the judge complained of the lack of variation, stating that the articles "repeat the same idea in different words." Yet he overruled defense motions to bar the material as remote and outlawed by Supreme Court rulings.

SHE NAMED 450: Later Barbara Hartle, a former Smith Act defendant herself (Seattle) who has since by her own admission informed on 450 of her former associates—including her two former husbands— turned up as a witness. She has never met any of the Denver defendants. Her Denver role was to attempt to establish the Dept. of Justice version of the aims and purposes of the Communist Party. But a court-appointed defense attorney, Margaret Bates, successfully blocked Mrs. Hartle's answer to the prosecution request that she state the aims and purposes "based on your 20 years experience in the Communist Party."

The trial was adjourned Feb. 12 because of the illness of defendant Joseph Scherrer. Contributions for the defense may be sent to Pat Blau, c/o Correa, 2416 W. 36th Av., Denver, Colo.

Powell-Schuman case

(Continued from Page 1)

questions such as:

"Is there a dividing line between treason and the citizen's right to disagree with his government and put his dissent in writing? . . . Is that point reached when an editor publishes biting criticism of the foreign policy of the U.S. State Department? And, if it is, why, of all American publications that were critical of U.S. policy in Korea, was the **China Monthly Review** singled out?"

Defense attorney Doris Brin Walker said that if indictments are returned and a new trial results, "editors all over the U.S. may be bludgeoned into conformity" on U.S. Far Eastern policy. Defense attorney Charles Garry termed his clients victims of "a cruel persecution which would be utterly senseless except for the fact that so much more than their own lives and liberty hangs on the outcome."

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DECISION AFFECTS MANY

Social security for deportees is upheld

(Special to the Guardian)

A FEDERAL JUDGE in Washington has held unconstitutional the section of the Social Security Act denying social security benefits to non-citizens deported from the U.S. The ruling was made in the case of Ephraim Nestor, formerly of Los Angeles, deported to Bulgaria in 1957.

Nestor's interests were represented in the action by attorneys Joseph Forer and David Rein of Washington, acting at the request of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Attorneys concerned with the rights of foreign-born believe that the decision can be immediately applied to many other similar cases of deportees deprived of such benefits, which are based primarily on withholdings from wages during working years in this country.

A few recent such cases have been those of George Stathos, deported to Greece in 1957 when over 65 years old; Dora Lipshitz, deported at 67 to Poland; and Giacomo Quattrone, deported to Italy at 70. Full information on the Nestor decision is available from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21 St., New York 10.

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In the last two issues of the Guardian we asked you to watch for our mailing containing THE POWER ELITE by C. Wright Mills, the first selection of our paperback book club—"a book a month for a dollar a month." The mailing is now out and on its way to you. From the peal of congratulations we have received and from the enthusiasm expressed in the first returns it seems clear that our plans do meet a need. Now we are watching our mail to see that enthusiasm translated into action. We hope most of our Guardian friends will join the club, but we hope to hear from everyone, one way or another. If your copies of the book and magazine haven't come, watch for them. When they do come, please ACT. Remember: the entire venture depends on what each individual does—and we are watching our mail.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

THE WEAVERS, Civic Opera House, Sat., March 7, 8:30 p.m. Tickets from Chi. Council of Amer.-Sov. Friendship. 10% discount to Council members. AN 3-1877. Order deadline Feb. 27.

Soviet mezzo-soprano **ZARA DOLOUKHANOVA**, in Orchestra Hall, Sun., Mar. 15, 3:30 p.m. Tickets from Chi. Coun. of Amer. Sov. Friendship. 10% discount to Council members. AN 3-1877. Order deadline Mar. 6.

"CUBA—AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT" Direct from Cuba, CARLETON BEALS, America's foremost authority on Latin America, will give behind-the-scenes account of Cuban Revolution & where it is heading. Questions & Discussion. Fri., March 6. Roosevelt Univ., 430 S. Michigan, Rm. 420. Auspices: American Forum for Socialist Education.

LOS ANGELES

****The Sobell Committee presents
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MINNEAPOLIS

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
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Sun., March 15, 8 p.m., Andrews Hotel, Rm. M-3. Joint Auspices Guardian Associates & Twin City Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

HEAR WILLIAM A. REUBEN
Sun., Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m., at
the Colemans', 821 W. Roosevelt Blvd.
Mr. Reuben is a journalist, author of "The Atom Spy Hoax," former publicity director of American Civil Lib. Union.

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Tues., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m.
"RELATIONS AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES TODAY"
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HYMAN LUMER, National Ed. Dir., Communist Party of the U.S.
Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St.

Militant Labor Forum
PUBLIC DEBATE
"Does Marxist Theory Retain Full Validity for the U.S.?"
NO—Earl Browder, formerly Gen. Secy. of the Communist Party, USA
YES—Farrell Dobbs, National Secy of the Socialist Workers Party.
Chairman: **Muriel McAvoy**
Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m., Cental Plaza (Atlas Room) 2 Av. & 6 St. Cont. $1.
And Another Debate
"Socialist Electoral Policy: 2 Views"
Murry Weiss, staff writer, The Militant
David McReynolds, '59 Congressional candidate, Fri., Feb. 27, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c.

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THE GALLERY

GOOD NEWS DEPT.: Paul Robeson has recovered sufficiently from his illness to perform in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre production of **Othello** in April in Stratford-on-Avon, England. He will return to England from the U.S.S.R. by March 16 to begin rehearsals . . . Latest thaw in the Cold War comes from Cincinnati where the baseball team which bore the name Redlegs for six years reverted to its old name, Reds. In 1953, when the team changed its name, manager Gabe Paul said: "We wanted to be certain we would not be confused with the Russian Reds." The official change meant little to die-hard fans who continued to call the team the Reds . . . NBC Moscow correspondent Irving R. Levine reports that Russian cars have "a clock on the dashboard that almost invariably tells the correct time." . . . Police in Surabaya, Indonesia, have banned the rhumba and the cha-cha "to safeguard general order and to keep up moral norms." . . . The London **Times** reports that manufacturers in Warsaw are producing 5,000 hula hoops a day, but the demand still exceeds supply.

THE NATL. EDUCATION ASSN. advises school principals and teachers on how to spot juvenile delinquents: Beware of students with parents who do not belong to PTA's, women's clubs, the Elks, Lions, Redmen or other lodges. Those who use such expressions as "ain't" and "we don't hardly." Those who do poorly in school, miss classes often, show no respect for public property and who are more concerned with "being" than "becoming." Those with male kin who are tattooed. And those who dress sharply and affect "offbeat haircuts."

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Hey, YOU!"

. . . Charles E. Carter of Glyndon, Md., is a volunteer fireman who seems to get a kick out of his hobby. Police say he set fire to a restaurant so he could drive an engine to the blaze. . . . Msgr. Lawrence J. Riley told a meeting of the First Friday Club in Cleveland: "Our nation is passing from a period of optimism to one of pessimism. During the period of optimism, God was replaced by other idols, such as education, progress and statism. As idols, they have failed us." . . . In California Dr. Harry L. Riggs became the first Negro physician to be elected president of the Oakland County Academy of General Practice.

WHEN GOV. JOHN PATTERSON took over the executive mansion in Montgomery, Ala., in January, there were 15 telephones in the building; today there are six. During his first week in office Patterson discovered his five-year-old daughter telephoning her brother in the next room. In a rage he called the company to rip out the phones. "This encourages laziness," he said . . . When William H. Peters opened his back door in Washington, D.C., to let his cat out, a man grabbed him by the back of the neck, pushed him into the hall, shouted "sucker" and fired a shot at him. The shot missed, but it scared away the cat . . . In a Chicago traffic court Celia Morris insisted that the radar was wrong in clocking her car at 45 miles an hour in a 25-mile zone. Before the judge could pass sentence, her husband jumped to her defense and said: "In 25 years of marriage I have never known my wife to be wrong." The judge said: "Absolutely amazing," and suspended sentence.

FORMER SEN. GEORGE H. BENDER (R-O.) told the Chagrin Falls Chamber of Commerce: "I'd like to dump the Ohio Chamber of Commerce right in the middle of Lake Erie for what they did to the Republican party on that right-to-work business." He was also chagrined by Eisenhower's association with "too many rich men." He added: "When you go after votes, you got to get God's poor on your side, too." The Republican party, he said, is "dead as a dodo bird." . . . Democratic Sen. Hubert Humphrey told a class studying Russian on television that during his interview with Khrushchev he went into the prime minister's toilet. There he noticed a shelf full of medicine bottles with Russian labels. "Now, I am a pharmacist by training," he said, "and had I been able to read Russian—had I taken this course—imagine what I could have learned! I could have been one of the most highly qualified informers for our government because I could have looked at those labels . . . and we could have analyzed just how serious Mr. Khrushchev's kidney ailment is."

A NEW JERSEY MAIL ORDER COMPANY offers: "A Jewel for the Navel—makes the gift **distingue** for the man or woman who has everything. Brightly glittering jewel is cut like a gem, keeps you richly dressed while undressed during visits to the shower, the masseur; surprises doctors and goes particularly well with bikinis. Clever gift package contains . . . special navel glue. No tools needed. Now 93c." . . . Two boys in Hong Kong had a good thing going until the cops caught up with them. One boy would "accidentally" spill white paint on the shoes of passersby and the other would offer to clean them for a dollar . . . Almost $1,000 in prizes are being offered for one-act plays which emphasize "the world peace role of the United Nations" by the UN Assn. of Los Angeles, 5110 Wilshire Blvd. Entrants must be over 19 years old and plays must be submitted before June 1.

—Robert E. Light

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MC 2028 BEZRODNY PLAYS GERSHWIN. Side One: Three Preludes, by George Gershwin; **Nigun** by Bloch; **Danza Braziliana,** Triggs; **Gypsy Caprice,** Kreisler; **Jota,** by Fuchs. **Side Two: En Bateau,** Debussy; **Romance,** Gliere; **Berceuse,** Respighi; **Theme & Processional** (from Peter and the Wolf) by Prokofieff; **Farewell,** Edgar; **Song of The Black Swan,** Villa-Lobos; **Jeunes Filles au Jardin,** by Mompou. All with Abram Makarov at the piano.

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Miss Doloukhanova's Itinerary: March 13, New York City; March 15, Chicago; March 17, Montreal; March 26, Philadelphia; April 1, Baltimore; April 13, Victoria, B.C.; April 15, Vancouver; April 18, Los Angeles; April 25, San Francisco.
Mr. Bezrodny's Itinerary: Feb. 22, New York; Feb. 24, Atlanta; Feb. 26, Stillwater, Okla.; March 1, Chicago; March 3, Minneapolis; March 5, Seattle; March 7, Los Angeles; March 9, Vancouver; March 11, Salem, Ore.; March 14, Baltimore; March 18, Providence, R. I.; March 20, Montreal.

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EKL-141—JEWISH FOLK SONGS with guitar and orchestral accompaniment under the direction of Fred Hellerman. Mr. Bikel's sensitive interpretation of these Yiddish folk songs has been widely acclaimed—Der Rebe Elimelech; Di Yontevdike Teyg; Sha Shtil; Di Ban; Kum Aher Du Filozof; Di Mezinke; A Sudenyu; Achtsik Er Un Zibetsik Zi; Di Mame Iz Gegangen; Margaritkelech; Mu Asapru; Lomir Zich Iberbeten; Homentashn; A Chazn Oyf Shabes; Reyzl; Tumbalalayka.

EKL-132 FOLK SONGS OF ISRAEL Mr. Bikel migrated to Israel (then Palestine) in 1938 and spent four years in a kibbutz. While in Israel, he learned most of the songs featured on this record. In addition to Mr. Bikel's guitar accompaniment, Michael Kagan plays a traditional clay drum—Arava, Arava; Oozy Vezimrat Yah; Orcha Bamidbar; Sookah Bakerem; Dodi Li; Mi Barechev; Ada; Hechalil; Ptsach Bazemer; Karev Yom; Shech Abrek; Sissoo Vessimchoo; El Ginat Egoz; Shomer Mah Milel; Hana'ava Babanot; Ana Pana' Dodech; Shim'oo Shim'oo; Lyla, Lyla.

EKL-109 A YOUNG MAN AND A MAID . . . Love Songs of Many Lands Cynthia Gooding joins Theodore Bikel in a program of international love songs. The aura of excitement and vitality they generate is as pleasing as love itself—Where Does It Lead; Coplas; Parle Moi; Ro'e Vero'a; Greensleeves; Hej Pada Pada; Ma Belle; Well Met, Pretty Maid; Laredo; Sur La Route; A Meidl In Di Yoren; As I Roved Out; Mi Jacalito; Katherine Jaffrey; La Ballade du Chercheur d'Or; Western Wind; Prosehay.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Ike at Acapulco

MEXICO CITY

WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER decided to visit Mexican President Adolfo Lopez Mateos in Acapulco Feb. 19 and 20, it was something like tired Normalcy agreeing to meet a vibrant New Deal.

Misgivings expressed last December that the new government might be a carbon copy of the previous administration and dominated behind the scenes by former President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines have been set at rest. Though his cabinet contains many holdovers, López Mateos has shown that he is President in his own right, and he is building up popular support such as no Mexican President has enjoyed since the days of Lázaro Cárdenas.

Just to list the more important actions of the López Mateos government in less than three months of office, which indicate its New Deal character:

Ruis in Rototemas, Mexico

O-h-h . . . American democracy is always firmly based . . . on air bases!"

It has released the farmer, teacher and student leaders imprisoned by the previous administration on the political charge of "Social Dissolution." It has lifted the two-year-old military occupation of the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City whose students had been denounced as troublemakers. It has dealt some solid blows to the age-old **cacique** system by dismissing the superintendent of the state-owned oil industry, Petróles Mexicanos, in Poza Rica, who had for years held the power of life and death over the inhabitants of that oil center. And it has replaced the governor of the state of San Luis Potosi, a tool of the famous **cacique** Gonzalo N. Santos, with the outspokenly liberal and respected journalist Francisco Martinez de la Vega.

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, the government in a series of steps indicates it will follow a more pronounced nationalist policy than the previous administration. Groundwork has been laid for curbing some of the abuses of foreign companies, such as the defiance of ceiling-price regulations by Colgate-Palmolive-Peet and Procter & Gamble, which have cornered the production of detergents here.

All government agencies and enterprises with state participation are under orders "to buy Mexican." The government has also announced its intention of granting credits for the establishment or expansion of essential industries. Finally, López Mateos' determination to protect the economy was shown by his summary order reducing by about half the rate increases granted the foreign-owned Mexican Light & Power Co. by the last administration.

This nationalist trend no doubt figured largely in Eisenhower's sudden decision to visit Lopez Mateos so shortly after his inauguration and on the heels of similar pilgrimages by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, John Foster Dulles and Dr. Milton Eisenhower. However, the main spark for the decision is likely to have come from the dispute between Guatemala and Mexico which began last Dec. 31 when the Guatemalan Air Force machine-gunned five unarmed Mexican fishing vessels.

THE INCIDENT and the subsequent hostility of the Guatemalan government to Mexico's efforts at conciliation were attributed here to a variety of U.S. interests. The theory is that the dispute was the combined work of American oil and fishing concession-holders in Guatemala and of the State Dept. which wanted to blackmail the new Mexican government. Circumstances cited in support of this interpretation include the fact that within 24 hours of the first indication that Eisenhower might visit Mexico, the attitude of the Guatemalan government began to change.

But far from softening up López Mateos, the scheme had the opposite effect: It united Mexican public opinion around the government and the almost universal belief that the conflict with Guatemala was American-inspired stiffened national sentiment. Washington could not fail to note that American prestige—never too high in Mexico—was sinking to a new low.

ADVANCE PREPARATIONS for the Eisenhower visit indicated that it was conceived more in terms of public relations than diplomatic negotiations. But Washington does not seem to be able to avoid offending Mexican sensibilities. Acapulco has been flooded by Secret Servicemen. Reportedly for security reasons, Ike's advisers picked for his lodging a hotel—American-owned—which even in this wealthy tourist resort is renowned as the symbol of Hollywood vulgarity and which is known to have discriminated against Mexicans.

Mexican reaction to all this was summed up by the cartoonist Rius who pictured Eisenhower and López Mateos on the beach in Acapulco, the former accompanied by seven hulking, gun-toting Secret Servicemen and the latter followed only by the little figure of Juan Pueblo in bathing trunks.

—John Hill

Caesarism

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The U.S. has begun to hurtle inevitably down the same paths as Ancient Rome, falling unaware from democracy into Caesarism. These are the disturbing parallels between the two republics.

Harry Fries